Cicero. DNP. Ogilvy, BKE (pp. 111-114), Lapidge, Etc/

Marcus Tullius Cicero (106 - 65 BC), also known as Tully, born in Apeulia. Biography by Plutarch (75 AD). His birth was foreseen as provident for Rome. Schooled in Athens.

Cicero is one of the most influential Latin authors of the classical period. He and **Caesar** are considered the two great stylists of Latin prose. Cicero’s influence begins with his contemporaries and continues to this day. Cicero influenced English literature and letters well into the 20th century. [If it needs more: Shakespeare (*and the Constant Romans*), Ciceronian ideals in Eighteenth Century Lit, etc.]

Cicero’s influence is extensive. One of the more influential Neoplatonic texts of the Middle Ages was **Macrobius**’ commentary on Cicero’s *Somnium Scipionis* (“Dream of Scipio”), from Cicero’s *De re publica*. The *Somnium* was copied as part of Macrobius’ text. Rhetorical handbooks (such as those by **Ælfric**), treatises, and so forth depend substantially on Cicero for their exempla. Cicero’s rhetorical handbooks influenced later compilers of similar works: Ogilvy: “His *De Inventione* certainly furnished **Alcuin** with the bulk of the material for his *De Rhetorica*” (p. 111). We find him cited by Seneca as well as by Saint **Augustine**. Although there is some thorough scholarship documenting Augustine’s reliance on Cicero, given the fact that Augustine was a teacher of rhetoric in Rome, we cannot assess the depth and extent of Augustine’s debt. Cicero’s influence can be assumed to have animated schoolbooks (especially *ars grammatici*), letters (e.g., **Boniface**), prologues (e.g., **Bede**), and sermons.

There is almost no direct knowledge of Cicero in early Anglo-Saxon England. Cicero awaits the Carolingian scriptoria of the ninth century to enjoy wider Continental distribution. All extant Anglo-Saxon manuscripts of Cicero’s works are ninth century or later. With a few exceptions, early insular knowledge is largely second-hand, or indirect. In 1933, speaking of Bede and classical culture, M. L. W. Laistner warned that a citation of a classical poet in Bede does not mean that he had full access to the classics; one usually finds the same citation in Isidore or in one of the school grammarians. To ensure a thorough reckoning, one should collate most of Isidore and all extant citations of Cicero in the grammarians edited by Keil (as below).[[1]](#footnote--1)

Manuscripts. There are eleven manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon period that contain works by Cicero. A twelfth lies outside the period, but Ogilvy thought it rested on an earlier English exemplar. Two other manuscripts give indications that they contained works by Cicero, but those works are no longer extant. All the manuscripts are tenth century or later, when Cicero’s works were likely imported from Carolingian scriptoria, where they were enjoying a renaissance. The manuscript evidence thus conveniently divides the period and the question: post-Carolingian and pre-Carolingian knowledge of C.

*Aratea*: Cambridge, Trinity R.15.32 (945) Gn 186 s.xi

British Library Cotton Tiberius B. v, ff. 2-73,77-8 Gn 373 s.xi

British Library Vitellius A.xii (excerpt) Gn 398e s.xi ex.

British Library Harley 647 Gn 423 s.ix

British Library Harley 2506 (with scholia) Gn 428.4 s.x/xi

*De inventione*: Dublin, Trinity College 927 Gn 216.6 s.xi 2

*In Catilinam*: Edinburgh, Ntl. Lib. Scotland 18. 7. 8 Gn 254 s.xi/xii

*Philippicae*: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana lat. 3228 Gn 907.5 s.x 2

*De re publica* -----

*Somnium Scipionis* Abersystwyth, Natl. Lib 735C Gn 1.5 s.xi

Bodley Auctaruim F.2.20 (2186) Gn 536 s.xi ex.

*De officiis*: Cambridge, Trinity R. 16. 34 (982) Gn 187 s.xi

*Topica*: Oxford, Merton College 309 (folio only) Gn 677.6 s.ix/x

Along with manuscripts and word-for-word citations, Cicero’s name also appears as the metonym for Roman eloquence. J. Soubiran calls Cicero a “personification of Rome.”[[2]](#footnote-0) One thinks here of Jerome’s famous dream in his letter to Eustochia (22.5). Berthold von Reichenau had a similar vision around the time of the Norman Conquest.[[3]](#footnote-1) These responses are emblematic of an unresolved tension between a beneficial use of Cicero as a rhetorical exemplar and a potentially negative influence he might exercise on Christian mores. But this tension is often exaggerated today. Origen saw nothing improper in subordinating profane literature to “aid theology.”[[4]](#footnote-2) Nokter Labeo, writing at the time of Archbishop Wulfstan, described the benefits of studying the syllogisms, figures, and persuasive techniques of Cicero.[[5]](#footnote-3) There was tension, and it is possible to trace the contours of Anglo-Latin literary fashion in part by measuring attitudes towards Cicero (see Roger Ray 1987, on Bede’s attitude towards Cicero).

Cicero himself oversaw the publication and collation of much of his own work.[[6]](#footnote-4) He wrote over a hundred titles, not all of which survive. Collections of various shape made their way through Antiquity to the present day. Three collections became the standard Ciceronian syllabus: the Catilines, the Caesarianae[[7]](#footnote-5), and the Verrines. These three are collected in British Library Add. 47678, for example, which was written at Tours in the early ninth century. Cicero’s extremely popular “Dream of Scipio” traveled in a commentary by Macrobius. Isidore of Seville employed Cicero’s rhetorical writings extensively for his own *Etymologiae*.[[8]](#footnote-6) Generally, though, Cicero’s works were thin on the ground between 550 and 750 AD, a period L. D. Reynolds has called a “cultural recession.”[[9]](#footnote-7) The reorganization of Carolingian schools and Charlemagne’s cultural *renovatio* prompted a widespread assembly of classical texts. Sedulius Scotus made a collection of excerpts from Cicero, which accounts for a number of additions to the citation list below. Some omnibus collections of Cicero appeared on the Continent. Works that had not been seen for centuries suddenly were available—*Pro Milone*, *Pro Sulla*, *Partitiones oratoriae*, and so forth. Manuscripts seem to have moved along what Peter Heather calls the Axis of Power, from Dalmatia through to Transalpine Gaul; from there up into present-day Austria and Germany—especially Lorsch, Bobbio, and St. Gall—then west into Francia and then to ASE. By the tenth century, Cicero’s works are coming into ASE, especially through Canterbury and Winchester. By the end of our period, we see a much wider distribution of Cicero’s works as descendants of Carolingian copies migrate in with Norman clerics.

Pre-Carolingian. A brief look at the pre-Carolingian period shows no manuscripts and very few citations of Cicero in early ASE. For the whole of our period, Michael Lapidge records ten citations of Cicero dispersed throughout the works of major authors: Aldhelm, Bede, Alcuin, and Abbo of Fleury. The citations are to the school texts (the Catilines, the *Philippics*, and the Verrines); to the more scientific texts (*Aratea*, *De natura deorum*, and the *Somnium Scipionis*); and to the rhetorical works, specifically *De inventione*. Large portions of the *Aratea*, which is Cicero’s translation of Aratus’ poem about the stars, reappear in Book 2 of his *De natura deorum*. Ogilvy lists a dozen more works by Cicero that he supposed were cited. But I have been unable to verify his citations. To Lapidge’s ten citations, I have added a few dozen.

Other than the manuscripts, these citations are the only evidence we have of Cicero in ASE. A problem arises because from the outset, Cicero has a forceful effect on the Latin language, but he also continues along in frozen form. So any Anglo-Saxon authors might employ Ciceronian Latin in the regular course of speaking and writing, or he may transmit Cicero as a citation independent of the living language. In a number of cases, intermediaries for these independent citations can be supposed. A first intermediary is Isidore, who cited Cicero again and again in his grammatical works. A second intermediary are other grammarians, such as Priscian or Donatus. The major and many minor grammarians were edited by Keil, who also provided a full index of source authors.

One can observe Cicero’s pervasiveness in the Latin language. Consider Cicero’s form for “nose,” *nasus*. Probius cites the masculine nominative form *nasus* in his *Instituta artium* (Keil IV, sec. 223.31), citing Cicero’s *De natura deorum*, v.27. The neuter form, *nasum*, he assigns to other authors, such as Lucretius. Anyone who studied grammar using Probius, and who hears *nasus*, might well think of Cicero. The masculine form is later used by Apuleius *Metamorphoses* (2.24), by Horace and Martial, by Pliny and Seneca, by Apponius in his exposition of the *Song of Songs* (10.340), by Augustine, and by Jerome, whose translation of the Song of Songs gives us at 7:4, “nasus tuus.” At that point, the masculine form, indicative to schoolboys of Cicero, becomes authorized by the Vulgate. We see it again in Sidonius Appolinarus, *Epistularum*, I.2.21 (MGH AA 8, ed. Krutch 1887). And it is the form that Bede uses, likely in fidelity to the Vulgate, in his commentary on the Song of Songs. Bede uses the form elsewhere only once (PL 93:470C).[[10]](#footnote-8)

Citations. Lapidge most helpfully arranges citations according to Anglo-Saxon authors. The three main conduits of Cicero are apparently Aldhelm, Alcuin, and Bede. A brief discussion of each follows.

Aldhelm.

1. *Ped.reg*., ed. Ehwald, *MGH* AA 15, p. 196, l. 13 (=*PL* 89:231D): “imploro (Cicero in libro .xv. omnes imploro et obtestor....”

**Source**: Cicero, *Act.Verr.* II-IV.26.57, “Ceteros item deos deasque omnes imploro et obtestor ...” [? Lapidge: II-V.72.188: “vos etiam atque etiam imploro et appello, sanctissimae deae”]

2. *Ped.reg*., ed. Ehwald, *MGH* AA 15, p. 196, l. 23 (=*PL* 89: 232C): “plector complector (Cicero libro xiiii: Nullo modo possum aut memoria consequi aut oratione complecti), ...””

**Source**: Cicero, *Act.Verr.* IV.26.57, “Nullo modo possum omnia istius facta aut memoria consequi aut oratione complecti.”

3. *Ped.reg*., ed. Ehwald, *MGH* AA 15, p. 196, l. 12 (=*PL* 89:224B): “ut Cicero, ‘Homullus ex argilla et luto fictus.”

**Source**: Cicero, *Cat.*III.6.14, [not evident]

\***Source**: Cicero, *Pisonem*, xxv: “Sed quoniam praeterita mutare non possumus, quid cessat hic homullus, ex argilla et luto fictus Epicurus, ....”

\***Source**: Priscian, *Institutionum grammaticarum*, III.xxxiv: “Cicero in Pisonem: homullus ex argilla et luto fictus.” [Keil, v.2, p. 109, lines 4–5.]

\* My suggestions.

All three citations of Cicero in Aldhelm come in Aldhelm’s *Epistula ad Acircium siue liber de septenario, de metris, ænigmatibus ac pedem regulis*.[[11]](#footnote-9) The first and second citations are fairly straightforward, but the third is not to be found in the Catilines. It is in the *Pisonem*, as Priscian discovered. In his *Grammatical Institutes*, Priscian cited just as much of Cicero as Aldhelm cites. Cicero includes “hic” and “Epicurus.” So, it seems likelier that Aldhelm learned his citation in school, rather than culling it directly from a manuscript of the *Pisonem*.

Alcuin.

1. Rhetorical works; no specific citation.

**Source**: Cicero, *De inventione* or *De oratore* ? (Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, p. 230)

Alcuin mentions Cicero in his poem on the bishops and saints of York: “rhetor ... Tullius ingens.”[[12]](#footnote-10) He is thought to have known the *De inventione* and *Topica*. But this mention, as Peter Godman points out, is to “authors unused elsewhere in England at this period but read at the court of Charlemagne.”[[13]](#footnote-11) According to Liutpold Wallach, Alcuin had an incomplete copy of the *De inventione*, but access to “an older and complete manuscript of Cicero’s work.”[[14]](#footnote-12) Donald Bullough wasn’t so sure, and thought that only the *De inventione* had been available to Alcuin.[[15]](#footnote-13) No one has yet claimed that Alcuin’s knowledge of Cicero was had at York. Given the magnificent holdings of Carolingian libraries, one ought to be cautious before imagining similarly well-stocked Anglo-Saxon libraries.

Bede.

1. *De ortho*., ed. Jones. *CCSL* 123a, l. 887: “Incipit postulare, poscere, minari”

**Source**: Cicero, *In Verr.* II-III.36.78, “incipiunt postulare, poscere, minari”

**\*Source**: Agroecii, *Ars de orthographia* (*MGH* AA 14; Keil VII, p. 125], “Cicero in frumentaria ‘incipiunt postulare, poscere, minari.’”

2. *De nat*.*rer*., ed. Jones. *CCSL* 123c, xii.1, p. 203: “Inter caelum terramque septem sidera pendent, certis discreta spatiis, quae vucantur errantia, contrarium mundo agentia cursum, id est laeuum, illo semper in dextra praecipiti. Et quamuis assidua conuersione inmensae celeritatis attollantur ab eo, rapianturque in occasus, aduerso tamen ire motu per suos quaeque passus aduertuntur: nunc inferius, nunc superius, ...”

**?Source**: Cicero, *De nat.deo.* II.20, “Atque haec cum uberius disputantur et fusius, ut mihi est in animo facere, facilius effugiunt Academicorum calumniam ; cum autem, ut Zeno solebat, brevius angustiusque concluduntur, tum apertiora sunt ad reprendendum, nam ut profluens amnis aut vix aut nullo modo, conclusa autem aqua facile conrumpitur, sic orationis flumine reprensoris convicia diluuntur, angustia autem conclusae rationis non facile se ipsa tutatur. Haec enim, quae dilatantur a nobis, Zeno sic premebat:”

3. *De ortho*., ed. Jones. *CCSL* 123c, l.892, p. 43: “Sed cicero ait, 'filium que eius inpuberem.'”

**Source**: Cicero, *Cat.* IV.6.13, “iussu consulis interfectum filiumque eius inpuberem legatum”

**\*Source**: Priscian, *Inst.* GL II.250.3, “Cicero tamen in IIII inuectiuarum: ‘filiumque eius inpuberem, legatum a patre missum’”.

**\*Source**: Probus, *De Catholicis*, GL IV.20,6: “sicut Tullius ‘filiumque eius inpuberem.’”

**\*Source**: Phocas, *De nomine et uerbo* (Casaceli, 1974, p.40) “ut Tullius ‘filiumque eius inpuberem’”

\*Add 3a. *De ortho*., ed. Jones. *CCSL* 123c, l.1161, p. 54: “Torques nomen generis communis, nam et in mario liuius genere masculino et cicero feminino torquem posuere.”

**Source**: Cicero, *In Verr.* III.185, “corona et phaleris et torque donasti”

\*Add 3b. *De ortho*., ed. Jones. *CCSL* 123c, l.584–85, p. 30: “Sic etenim varro, 'inberbi iuuenes,' sed et cicero 'inberbum' dixit, non inberbem; titus liuius autem 'inberbis' singulariter.”

**Source**: Cicero, *Cat.* IV.6.13, ? [Lapidge] ? \*from II.22, “quos pexo capillo nitidos aut inberbis”

**Source**: Cicero, *Orat. de domo sua*, xiv, 37, “Quae maior calumnia est quam venire imberbum adulescentulum” [Jones]

\***Source**: Cicero, *De nat.deo*, I: “Apollinem semper inberbem, caesios oculos Minervae, caeruleos esse Neptuni”; III, 83: “cum in omnibus fanis pater imberbis esset”

\*Add 3c. *De ortho.*, ed. Keil. 267,23 (=*CCSL* 123c, l. 238): “Cupio cupiui facit et cupii: cicero in pro cluentio, 'et filium et hunc cum maxime filium interfectum cupit' - pro cupiuit.”

**Source**: Cicero, *Pro Cluentio*, V.12, “cum maxime filium interfectum cupit”

\*Add 3d. *De ortho.*, ed. Jones. *CCSL* 123c, l. 284): “Est etiam acclamo, cum falso aliquem accuso, sicut cicero, de prasio, 'solis innocens acclamationibus punitus est'”

**Source**: ?

\*Add 3e. *De temporum ratione liber*, ed. Jones. *CCSL* 123b, c. 66, l. 888: “Cicero arpini nascitur matre heluia, patre equestris ordinis ex regio vulscorum genere.”

**Source**: ?

\*Add 3f. *De temporibus liber*, ed. Jones. *CCSL* 123c, c. 20, l. 20: “Tullius in re publica censum exegit.”

**Source**: ?

Bede’s registered citations of Cicero suggest he had access to a few of Cicero’s works, but the arguments are inconclusive. One of the great difficulties here is that Bede’s editors do not always include Cicero in their reckoning, which is not unusual. *CCSL* 120, for example, which contains Bede’s commentaries on Luke and Mark, has no *index auctorum*. Four of the Bedan volumes do not index Cicero. Nevertheless, there are six additional citations registered for Cicero in the *CCSL*, and they are found below as items 6a through 6f. Item 1 is Bede’s apparent citation of the Verrines. It is also found in Bishop Agroecius, a fifth-century Gaulish author of the *Ars de orthographia*.[[16]](#footnote-14) This work was a source for Isidore of Seville, and was later extant in Anglo-Saxon England in CCCC 221.[[17]](#footnote-15) Item 2 is as Jones has it; the source text is provided. Jones writes in his note to Bede’s passage that one might compare it, or presumably Bede’s entire first chapter, to Pliny, Dicuil, and Cicero.[[18]](#footnote-16) Bede may be alluding to information he found in Cicero, but a direct citation is not in evidence. Item 3 is found in Cicero, but is also found in the grammarians Priscian, Probus, and Phocas. Given that item 3b can be found elsewhere as well, it is not obvious that Bede had access to the Catilines.

3c is very interesting. Laistner notes that a few words from Cicero’s *Pro Cluentio* in Bede’s *De orthographia* do not occur among the grammarians. Bede cites Cicero by name. He is describing Cicero’s variant for *cupivit*, and quotes, “cum maxime filium interfectum cupit” (“since she desired the murder of her eldest son”; Keil, 267.23; *Pro Clo* 5.12). There is no obvious intermediary, and no other medieval grammarian but Bede cites this line. We seem to have no other Anglo-Saxon citations of any other part of that speech.

Abbo

1. *Explanatio*, ed. Peden. III.41 (p. 97): “More proemii solito mira brevitte captat auditoris benivolentiam, attentionem et docilitatem.”

**Source**: Cicero, *De inventione*, I.15.20, “Exordium est oratio animum auditoris idonee comparans ad reliquam dictionem: quod eveniet, si eum benivolum, attentum, docilem confecerit.”

2. *Explanatio*, ed. Peden. III.37: “Sequitur hora, quae est finis eius temporis [Isidore, *Etym*. 5.29.2], quod cum sit quaedam pars aeternitatis, tamen profertur secundum certam significationem sui alicuius spatii, ut annui vel diurni.”

**Source**: Cicero, *De inventione*, I.26.39, “Tempus autem est ... pars quaedam aeternitatis cum alicuius annui, menstrui, diurni nocturnive spatii certa significatione.”

3. *Quaest.gramm.*, ed. Anita Guerreau-Jalabert, c.3: “sedatis fluctibus marine tempestatis, ad id deueni exilii cum mira tranquillitate tam vasti equoris;”

**Source**: Cicero, *De inventione*, II.154, “Sedatis autem fluctibus et tempestate iam commutata navis in portum pervehitur.”

\*(3a.) *Explanatio*, ed. Peden. II.8 (p. 68): “Quoniam dum logica sit diligens ratio disserendi, quae duas habeat partes, unam inveniendi alteram iudicandi.”

**Source**: Cicero, *De Topica*, II.6, “Cum omnis ratio diligens disserendi duas habeat partis, unam inveniendi alteram iudicandi” [also in Boethius, *Comm. Isag*. I.2, *PL* 64:73B: “Hujus autem vix duplex esse perpenditur, una quidem in inveniendo, altera in judicando, quod Marcus etiam Tullius in eo libro cui Topica titulus est ... ‘Cum omnis ratio diligens disserendi duas habeat partes, unam inveniendi, alteram judicandi’”]

\*(3b.) *Explanatio*, ed. Peden. III.41 (p. 98): “vel sicut Ciceroni placet, ‘argumentum est ratio rei dubiae faciens fidem’”

**Source**: Cicero, *De Topica*, II.8, “argumentum autem rationem quae rei dubiae faciat fidem.” [also in Boethius, *In Topicas* I, PL 64:1048B: “argumentum autem ratio est quae rei dubiae faciat fidem.” \*and 1048C: “rei dubiae faciens fidem.”]

\*(3c.) *Explanatio*, ed. Peden. III.57 (p. 109): “His qui habundat, locuples, ut in Topicis discitur, ‘assiduus,’ quasi assem dans, nominatur.”

**Source**: Cicero, *De Topica*, II.10, “Cum lex assiduo vindicem assiduum esse iubeat, locupletem iubet locupleti”

\*(3d.) *Explanatio*, ed. Peden. III.31 (p. 91): “quod in Topicis ‘ab efficiente causa’ solet vocari.”

**Source**: Cicero, *De Topica*, XIV.58, “deinde rerum effectarum ab efficientibus causis. ” [also cites Boethius, *In Topicas* I, PL 64:1048]

The post-Carolingian world knew far more of Cicero. **Abbo**, who left Fleury for Ramsey in 985 and returned two years later, seems to have known the *De inventione*.[[19]](#footnote-17) His *Quaestiones grammaticales* was written at Ramsey.[[20]](#footnote-18) Although by the later AS period, one can assume the presence of a number of Cicero’s works, it is not clear that Abbo found his sources in English libraries. Item 1 describes the aims of a proem or exordium. The claim here—that an audience should be made benevolent, attentive, and docile—can be found in Cicero; but Abbo’s editor, A. M. Peden, points out, that the same claim is also found in Boethius.[[21]](#footnote-19) Note that Oxford, Merton College 309, listed in section 1, contains Boethius’ commentary on the *Topica*. Item 3a, which is a reference to Cicero’s *Topica*, also appears in Boethius, *Isagoge*. That text was extant in Anglo-Saxon England, and is now CCCC 206, which Gneuss dates to the eleventh or twelfth century.

Old English

1. OE version of Paulus Orosius [C.B.9.2.264], Bately, p. 84, ll.10–11 (Note on p. 271): OE *Orosius* IV.1.7, “Þu hæfst oþþe næfst”

**Source**: [C.B.9.2.264.02]Cicero, *De diuinatione*, II.56.116, “Aio te Aeacida, Romanos vincere posse”

\***Source**: Isidore, *Etymologiae*, I.24.13, “Aio te Aeacida, Romanos vincere posse”

2–5. OE version of Paulus Orosius [C.B.9.2.264]

A. Bately, 95.28-31: “he hie healsade … gelican wurden”

**Source**: [C.B.9.2.307.03] Cicero, *Offic*. III.100, “num locupletiores … se iam confectum senectute”

B. Bately, 95.28-31: “he hie healsade … gelican wurden”

**Source**: [C.B.9.2.307.02] Cicero, *Offic*. III.99, “is cum romam … et fortitudo negat”

C. Bately, 95.22-25: “he him geswor … eft gecyþan”

**Source**: [C.B.9.2.305.03] Cicero, *Offic*. I, “iuratus missus est … rediret ipse karthaginem”

D. Bately, 95.28-31: “æfter þæm þe … gefongen wæs”

**Source**: [C.B.9.2.172.04] Cicero, *Offic*., “atque hic t manlius … provocatus occiderat”

Finally to two purported citations in Old English. The FONTES project lists two citations of Cicero, but I think both are from intermediaries. The first is in Alfred’s translation of Paulus Orosius, *Seven Books of History against the Pagans*, IV, i, 7.[[22]](#footnote-20) The passage describes the response of the oracle to Pyrrhus’ question about an upcoming battle at Rome. The oracle says in OE, “Þu hæfst oþþe næfst” (“You’ll have it or you won’t”).[[23]](#footnote-21) Apparently, here we have a citation of Cicero, *De divinatione*, II.56, 116. Janet Bately, in her edition of the Old English, notes that a number of manuscripts of the Latin Orosius have the original Latin answer in the margin, “Aio te [A]eacida, Romanos vincere posse” (“I predict, son of Aeacus, that you will defeat [or “will be defeated by”] the Romans”). The phrase originates with Ennius (Ann. 179), and is quoted by Livy and others, including Augustine, as well as Cicero. The entire phrase is in Isidore’s *Etymologies*, Book I, chapter 24, section 13. Orosius merely says that the oracle’s response was ambiguous, “responso ambiguo.” While the marginalia scribe, Bately, and the fontes compiler have all located the citation, in fact, it’s not in either the Latin or the OE text. We have no way of knowing how Alfred’s translator came to know about the ambiguity of the oracle’s response—through a marginal gloss, through Ennius, through Livy, through Augustine, or through Cicero. So on that basis alone, the attribution to Cicero is suspect. But there is an obvious intermediary, too. In the passage from Isidore noted above, Isidore describes *Amphibolia*, which he translates as “ambigua dictio” (“an ambiguous expression”). Again, the Latin Orosius says only “responso ambiguo.” Isidore gives as an example of *ambigua dictio* the response of Apollinis to Pyrrhus, writing, “Aio te, Aeacida, Romanos vincere posse.”[[24]](#footnote-22) Isidore’s mediation explains both the Old English text and the manuscript marginalia. We can reasonably dismiss these two purported citations of Cicero.

Items 2though5 are again from the Alfredian Orosius, and comprise four apparent citations to Cicero’s *De officiis*. The first (record C.B.9.2.307.02) is to a historical datum that is not unique to Cicero. One also sees it in Valerius Maximus, Tertullian, Eutropius, and Augustine’s *De ciuitate Dei*, among others.[[25]](#footnote-23) A second citation can also be found in Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, as well as in Livy and Silius Italicus.[[26]](#footnote-24) The third citation refers to the identical passage sourced in the first citation. And the fourth, which is to the entirety of the OE Book 3, chapter 4, is not noted by Bately, but apparently may come from multiple passages in Cicero’s *De officiis*. fontes offers, in the source comment, the notion that “hiene ofslog” (Bately, p. 58) is the determining factor, but once again, that datum is available in many other classical sources. So, on the evidence, there is cause to dismiss these purported citations of Cicero, as well.[[27]](#footnote-25)

The entries below are arranged by works of Cicero. These are subdivided into Speeches, Rhetoric, Politics, Philosophy, Letters, Poetry, and Lost Works including translations, Fragments, and unknown/spurious (following Conti, 1994). They are arranged in chronological order within each category.

**Speeches**

Ogilvy: Cambridge UL Gg.v.35 “once contained some of Cicero’s orations, according to the table of contents, but they are no longer there.” Also BL Cotton Tiberius B.v. vol 1. No longer extant. Edinburgh, Advocates Library, Thorney (18.7.8) outside period, but “may rest on an English exemplar.” Also, BM Harley 2862, 2716.

**Pro Quinctio**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

**Pro Roscio Amerino**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

**Pro Roscio Comodeo**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

**Pro Tullio**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

**Divination in Q. Caecilium**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

**Verrines**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

Ogilvy: Indirectly to **Alcuin** via Isidore.

**Pro Fonteio**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

**Pro Caecina**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

**Pro Cluentio**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

Ogilvy: **Bede** qt. Orthographia.

**de Imperio Cn. Pompei [Pro Lege Manilia]**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

**de Lege Agraria**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

**Pro Rabirio Perduellionis Reo**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

**Pro Murena**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

Ogilvy: Maybe **Alcuin**.

**Catilinarians** [In Catilinam I-IV]

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS*  1. Edinburgh, Ntl. Lib. Scotland 18. 7. 8: HG 254 (s.xi/xii)

*Lists* none.

*A-S Vers* none.

*Quots/Cits* [*oratio III*, *IV*] Aldhelm, Bede Lapidge, p. 180

*Refs*. none.

One of Cicero’s most popular group of speeches, phrases and terms of which were employed extensively by Diomedes and Charisius as grammatical exemplars, and to a lesser degree by Probus and Servius.

Ogilvy: In **Alcuin**’s grammar, but may be cited indirectly from Priscian. **Aldhem** qt Cat 3.

Lapidge: Aldhelm, Bede

**Pro Sulla**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

**Pro Archia Poeta**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

**Pro Flacco**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

**Cum Senatui Gratias Egit [Post Reditum in Senatu]**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

**Cum Populo Gratias Egit [Post Reditum in Quirites]**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

**de Domo Sua**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

**de Haruspicum Responsis**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

**Pro Sestio**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

**In Vatinium**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

**Pro Caelio**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

**de Provinciis Consularibus**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

**Pro Balbo**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

**In Pisonem**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

Ogilvy: Indirect by Priscian to **Alcuin**.

**Pro Cn. Planco**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

**Pro Scauro**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

**Pro Rabirio Postumo**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

**Pro Milone**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

Ogilvy: **Alcuin**? “easier to assume that Alcuin had texts of the orations” (113)

**Pro Marcello**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

**Pro Ligario**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

**Pro Rege Deiotaro**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

Ogilvy: **Alcuin** qt. Dialectica. Indirectly from Isidore?

**Philippics**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS*  Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana lat. 3228 Gn 907.5 s.x 2

*Lists* none.

*A-S Vers* none.

*Quots/Cits* none

*Refs*. none.

Text

Ogilvy: Royal 15.A.14

Lapidge: cited.

**Rhetoric**

**De Inventione**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS*  Dublin, Trinity College 927 Gn 216.6 s.xi 2

*Lists* none.

*A-S Vers* none.

*Quots/Cits* none.

*Refs*. none.

text

Ogilvy: 4 mss.

Lapidge: Alcuin, Abbo

**De Oratore**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

**Partitiones Oratoriae**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

**de Optimo Genere Oratorum**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

**Brutus**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

**Orator**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

**Topica**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS*  Oxford, Merton College 309 (folio only) Gn 677.6 s.ix/x

*Lists* none.

*A-S Vers* none.

*Quots/Cits* none.

*Refs*. none.

Text

Ogilvy: “Condensed in **Alcuin’s** Dialectica, Ch 15”. And Bodley Laud Lat 49 w/comm.

**Politics**

**De Re Publica**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS*  Abersystwyth, Natl. Lib 735C Gn 1.5 s.xi

Bodley Auctaruim F.2.20 (2186) Gn 536 s.xi ex.

*Lists* none.

*A-S Vers* none.

*Quots/Cits* none.

*Refs*. none.

Text

Ogilvy: BM Addit. 11035.

**De Legibus**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

**Philosophy**

**Paradoxa Stoicorum**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

Ogilvy: Harley 2622

**Academica**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

**De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

Ogilvy: BM Addit. 6792. **Bede’s** qt. “O tempora O mores” from here? (p. 114)

**Tusculanae Disputationes**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

Ogilvy: “apparently the source of **Alcuin’s** ...” Epistola 308. Qt. by **Bryhtferth** [sic], but probably Somn.Scip.

**De Natura Deorum**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

Ogilvy: Harley 2622.

Lapidge: Bede.

**de Divinatione**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

**De Fato**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

**Cato Maior de Senectute**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

Ogilvy: Harley 2716.

**Laelius de Amicitia**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

**De Officiis**

ed. Winterbottom, Latin Authors.

*MSS*  Cambridge, Trinity R. 16. 34 (982) Gn 187 s.xi

*Lists* none.

*A-S Vers* none.

*Quots/Cits* none.

*Refs*. none.

Text

Ogilvy: 2 mss “of doubtful provenance”

**Letters**

Ogilvy: Harley 2682

**ad Familiares**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

Ogilvy: BM Harley 2591 [?c. 1400AD] & 5062.

**ad Atticum**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

Ogilvy: BM Addit. 6793.

**ad Quintum**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

**ad M. Brutum**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

**Poetry**

**Juvenalia**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

**Aratea**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS*  Cambridge, Trinity R. 15. 32 (945) Gn 186 s.xi

British Library Cotton Tiberius B. v, ff. 2-73,77-8 Gn 373 s.xi

British Library Vitellius A.xii (excerpt) Gn 398e s.xi ex.

British Library Harley 647 Gn 423 s.ix

British Library Harley 2506 (with scholia) Gn 428.4 s.x/xi

*Lists* none.

*A-S Vers* none.

*Quots/Cits* [*oratio III*, *IV*] Aldhelm, Bede Lapidge, p. 180

*Refs*. none.

Text

Lapidge: cited.

**De Consulatu Suo**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

**Marius**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

**Limon**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

**Lost Works**

Consolatio, Hortensius, Laus Catonis, De Gloria, De Virtutibus, De Auguriis, De Consiliis Suis, Chronographia (?), Admiranda. Translations: Timeus of Plato, Protagoras of Plato, Economicus of Xenophon.

**Fragments**

**Pro Cornelio**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

**In Toga Candida**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

**Spurious**

**Commentariolum Petitionis**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS – Refs*. none.

Text.

**Pseudo-Cicero**

**Contra Catilinam**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS*  BL Harley 5438

*Lists* none.

*A-S Vers* none.

*Quots/Cits* none.

*Refs*. none.

**Ad Herennium Rhetoricum**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS*  Harley 2623

*Lists* none.

*A-S Vers* none.

*Quots/Cits* none.

*Refs*. none.

**Synonyma Ciceronis**

ed. Latin Authors.

*MSS*  Bodley Barlow 35 (6467)

*Lists* Camb Gg.5.35.

*A-S Vers* none.

*Quots/Cits* none.

*Refs*. none.

Cicero in the Grammarians

Keil, Volume 1. *Flavii Sosipatri Charisii, Ars Grammatica libri v; Diomedis, Artis grammaticae, libri iii*. [Charisi in MS Bobbio IV.A.8, s.viii, or s.vii ex (p. vii)] Index scritptorum, pp. 567–68. Viz. Cicero.

CH = Charisii, IG = *Institutes grammatici*, by book, Keil page and line.

DIO = Diomedis, AG = *Artis grammaticae*, by book, Keil page and line. (Words of interest to grammarian in italics.)

Mss in ASE [Lapidge, *ASL*, p. 300]:

Diomedes, *Ars grammatica* citations: Bede

Charisius, *Ars grammatica* citations: Bede, Alcuin, Abbo

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Work | loc. | quotation | Gramm. | Reference | Keil vol. |
| *?* | ? | educatus et educata | Dio | AG. I, 377.4 | 1 |
| *Academicorum 3e* | ? | malcho in opera *adfixa* | Dio | AG. I, 377.13 | 1 |
| *ad Atticum* | ? | vectigaliorum | Ch | IG. I, 146.31 | 1 |
| *ad Atticum* | I.14.3 | *proprius* grammatico accessi | Dio | AG. I, 410.8 | 1 |
| *ad Atticum* | VIII.1.2 | ubi tutissimo essent [superlative] | Ch | IG. II, 192.23 | 1 |
| *ad Atticum* | VIII.1.2 | *repentino* pro repente | Ch | IG. II, 217.3 | 1 |
| *ad Atticum* | X.5.7 | *stomachose* [Keil notes, “rescripsi ei stomachosius”] | Ch | IG. II, 218.6 | 1 |
| *ad Atticum* | XVI.3.1 | rhetoris tu convivis tuis arcano legis | Ch | IG. II, 192.24 | 1 |
| *ad Atticum* | XVI.3.1 | tu convivis tuis arcano legis [falso as noun or adverb?] | Ch | IG. II, 199.25 | 1 |
| *ad Hostilium* | ? | requietem (cf. *ad Metellum*, V.14.1; IG I, 110.2) | Ch | IG. I, 142.7 | 1 |
| *ad Hostilium* | ? | requiem, requietem [gen. with “i”] | Ch | IG. I, 69.5 | 1 |
| *ad Marium* | VII.2.3 | simiolum (in masculine) | Ch | IG. I, 108.26 | 1 |
| *ad Metellum* | V.14.1 | requietem (acc. of *requies* not *requietem* but *requiem*, nothwithstanding C.) | Ch | IG. I, 110.2 | 1 |
| *ad Quintum* | ? | ac be plura quae sunt innumerabilia, consecter, conprehendam brevi [v. breviter] | Ch | IG. II, 195.27 | 1 |
| *de divinatione* | I.37.80 | in Aesopo *familiare* tuo | Ch | IG. I, 130.16 | 1 |
| *de divinatione* | I.41.91 | *antecellunt* [verb form] | Dio | AG. I, 374.19 | 1 |
| *de fin.bonorum* | II.33.110 | volucrium (v. volucrum) | Ch | IG. I, 146.28 | 1 |
| *de gloria (?)* |  | o miserum vel potius amentem, de quo necesse erat peius existimare eos qui *ploderent* quam eos qui non *ploderent*. | Dio | AG. I, 382.27 | 1 |
| *de natura deorum* | II.63.157 | nec enim homines *murum* aut formicarum causa frumentum condunt | Ch | IG. I, 137.4 | 1 |
| *de natura deorum* | III | qui *omnibus* intellegentia anteibat [dat.] | Dio | AG. I, 313.10 | 1 |
| *de natura deorum* | III.20.51 | Quintus Mucius augur multa narrare de Gaio Laelio socero suo *memoriter* et iucunde solebat. | Ch | IG. I, 117.16 | 1 |
| *de officiis* | I.30.105 | homines *omnibus* bestiis antecedunt [dat.] | Dio | AG. I, 313.11 | 1 |
| *de officiis* | I.30.107 | *antecellimus* [verb form] | Dio | AG. I, 374.20 | 1 |
| *de optimo genere oratorum* | 2.4 | nam quoniam eloquentia constat ex verbis et ex sententiis, perficiundum est ut pure et emendate loquentes, quod est Latine, verborum praeterea et propriorum et tralatorum elegantiam persequamur. | Ch | IG. II, 199.1 | 1 |
| *de optimo genere oratorum* | 4.10 | ita fit ut Demosthenes certe possit summisse dicere et elate Lusias fortasse non possit. | Ch | IG. II, 199.6 | 1 |
| *De oratore* | 21.70 | *poematorum* (Caes.), *poematis* (Cic.) | Ch | IG. I, 141.32 | 1 |
| *De oratore* | 22.79 | *calamistros* in masculine | Ch | IG. I, 80.11 | 1 |
| *De oratore* | 33.116 | definitio est oratio quae quid sit de quo egitur ostendit quam brevissime | Dio | AG. II, 421.1 | 1 |
| *De oratore* | 61.204 | (on commata/colon) periodo plurima ... ambitum circuitum | Dio | AG. II, 465.25 | 1 |
| *De oratore* | 66.222 | (4 modes of sentences) | Dio | AG. II, 466.21 | 1 |
| *De oratore* | 67.223 | domus tibi deerat? at habebas. pecunia superbat? at egebas. [conpositione] | Dio | AG. II, 466.6 | 1 |
| *De oratore* | 67.223 | (on commata/colon) domus tibi deerat? at habebas pecunia superbat? at egebas? | Dio | AG. II, 466.5 | 1 |
| *De oratore* | 67.225 | diximus, testes dare volumus [conpositione] | Dio | AG. II, 466.7 | 1 |
| *De oratore* | 67.225 | diximus, testes dare volumus | Dio | AG. II, 466.7 | 1 |
| *De oratore* | I.8.34 | brevi pro breviter | Ch | IG.II, p. 195, l.27 | 1 |
| *De oratore* | II.69.278 | inberbum perduxit | Ch | IG.II, 95.19, 128.28 | 1 |
| *De oratore* | III | *excellunt* [verb form] | Dio | AG. I, 374.18 | 1 |
| *De oratore* | III.33.136 | ut servarent sallere | Dio | AG. I, 375.20 | 1 |
| *de senectute* | 1.2 | etsi te quidem id modice ac sapienter, sicut omnia et ferre et laturum esse certo scio | Ch | IG. II, 206.11 | 1 |
| *de senectute* | 1.3 | qui si *eruditius* videbitur disputare quam consuevit ipse in suis libris | Ch | IG. II, 198.28 | 1 |
| *de senectute* | 10.34 | ingressus iter *pedibus* | Ch | IG. II, 215.24 | 1 |
| *de senectute* | 12.39 | avidae libidines temere et *effrenate* ad potiendum incitarentur | Ch | IG. II, 198.30 | 1 |
| *de senectute* | 12.42 | mihi vero *neutiquam* probari potuit tam flagitosa et tam perdita libido | Ch | IG. II, 208.14 | 1 |
| *de senectute* | 14.46 | *secus* si umquam quicquam feci, carnificem cedo | Ch | IG. II, 221.18 | 1 |
| *de senectute* | 15.51 | et mihi ad sapientis vita *proxime* videntur accedere | Ch | IG. II, 215.13 | 1 |
| *de senectute* | 16.57 | *vicissim* umbris aquisve refrigerari | Ch | IG. II, 224.6 | 1 |
| *de senectute* | 3.8 | est istud quidem, Laeli, aliquid sed *nequaquam* tibi concedendum fuit | Ch | IG. II, 208.17 | 1 |
| *de senectute* | 4.11 | Sp. Carvillo \* C. Flaminio tr. pl. quoad potuit Fabius Maximus restitit agrum Picentem et Gallicum *viritim* contra senatus auctoritatem dividenti. | Ch | IG. II, 224.10 | 1 |
| *de senectute* | 7.22 | [de senec 7,22] Sophocles ad summam senectutem tragoedias fecit, quem cum iudices a re familiari ut desipientem removissent filiis eius arguentibus, cum senex [Gk oidipoun epi Kolono], quam *proxime* scripserat, recitasset, liberatus est. | Ch | IG. II, 215.9 | 1 |
| *de senectute* | 8.25 | Caecilius *vitiosius* illud ait de senectute | Ch | IG. II, 224.8 | 1 |
| *epistularum* | VI.1.4 | [ad famil.] *placate* et moderate feramus | Ch | IG. II, 212.16 | 1 |
| *in Antouium* | II.25.63 | frustis esculentis vinum redolentibus [acc. and abl.] | Dio | AG. I, 319.12 | 1 |
| *in Antouium* | II.25.63 | vomens frustis esculentis gremium suum et totum tribunal implevit [conpositione, clausal endings] | Dio | AG. II, 467.23 | 1 |
| *in Antouium* | II.5.11 | *tibi* poena manet [idioms] | Dio | AG. I, 314.35 | 1 |
| *in Antouium* | V.1.3 | *nudius* tertius decimus | Ch | IG. II, 207.20 | 1 |
| *in Bruto* | 2.8 | salvatariter | Ch | IG.II, 218.28 | 1 |
| *in Bruto* | 64.229 | [can’t see cite] | ? |  | 1 |
| *in Bruto* | 8.35 | nihil ornatum vel verborum gravitate vel sententiarum, quo quicquam esset elatius | Ch | IG.II, 199.8 | 1 |
| *in Caecilium* | 1.1 | siquis vestrum, iudices, aut eorum qui adsunt [conpositione, rhythm, feet, and meter] | Dio | AG. II, 468.7 | 1 |
| *in Caecilium* | 1.1 | neminem praepondendum mihi esse actorem putabit [conpositione, clause ends in spondee and amphibrach | Dio | AG. II, 470.5 | 1 |
| *in Caecilium* | 5.19 | senati (v. senatuis) | Ch | IG. I, 143.14 | 1 |
| *in Catalinam* | ? | nullum id rursus liberum inpunitum [conpositione, clause with palimbacchius] | Dio | AG. II, 470.13 | 1 |
| *in Catalinam* | I.1.1 | nihilne te nocturnum praesidium Palatii, nihil urbis vigiliae, nihil hic munitissimus senatus habendi locus, nihil horum ora vultusque moverunt? [zeugma: unius verbi conclusio diversis clausulis coniuncta] | Dio | AG. II, 444.16 | 1 |
| *in Catalinam* | I.1.1 | quousque tande*m a*utere [barbarism, myotacism: cum in fine partis orationis invenitur m littera et incipiat sequens a vocali quae non sit loco constantis posita.] | Dio | AG. II, 453.11 | 1 |
| *in Catalinam* | I.1.2 | si istius furorem ac tela vitemus [conpositione, clause with palimbacchius] | Dio | AG. II, 470.12 | 1 |
| *in Catalinam* | I.10.27 | tantum profeci tum cum te a consulatu *reppuli* [inf.] | Dio | AG. I, 392.11 | 1 |
| *in Catalinam* | I.10.27 | tantum profeci, *cum* te a consulatu reppuli [id est ipso tempore quo reppuli profeci] | Ch | IG. II, 226.20 | 1 |
| *in Catalinam* | I.11.29 | an cum bello vastabitur Italia, vexabuntur urbes; tecta ardebunt, tum te non existimas? [inf.] | Dio | AG. I, 392.16 | 1 |
| *in Catalinam* | I.11.29 | an *cum* bello vastabitur Italia, vexabuntur urbes, tecta ardebunt, tunc te non existimas? [significat enim illo tempore esse invidia conflagraturum quo vastabitur Italia] | Ch | IG. II, 226.24 | 1 |
| *in Catalinam* | I.2.5 | crescit *in* dies singulos | Dio | AG. I, 412.11 | 1 |
| *in Catalinam* | I.3.6 | si *inlustrantur*, si erumpunt omnia [inf. subjunct.] | Dio | AG. I, 392.28 | 1 |
| *in Catalinam* | I.3.6 | si *inlustrantur*, si erumpunt omnia [vs. inlustrentur] | Ch | IG. II, 227.2 [3] | 1 |
| *in Catalinam* | I.3.7 | dixi ego in senatu caedem to optimatum *contulisse* [inf. praeterito] | Dio | AG. I, 389.30 | 1 |
| *in Catalinam* | I.3.7 | tum cum multi principes civitatis Romae non tam sui conservandi [names of cities] | Ch | IG. II, 232.31 | 1 |
| *in Catalinam* | I.8.21 | de te autem, Catilina, cum quiescunt, probant, cum patiuntur, decernunt, cum tacent, clamant. [infinitives] | Dio | AG. I, 388.25 | 1 |
| *in Catalinam* | II.3.6 | ne illi vehementer errant [irony, subjn., like Gk *naí*] | Dio | AG. I, 394.22 | 1 |
| *in Catalinam* | II.3.6 | ne illi vehementer errant [dubious subjunctive] | Ch | IG. II, 228.17 | 1 |
| *in Catalinam* | II.5.10 | o nos beatos [no citation, but in notes; voc. like ‘o nos felices’] | Dio | AG. I, 330.1 | 1 |
| *in Catalinam* | II.6.13 | cum ille homo audacissimus conscientia convictus primo reticuisset, *patefeci* [inf.] | Dio | AG. I, 392.22 | 1 |
| *in Catalinam* | II.6.13 | interrogavi num dubitaret eo proficisci [inf. with finite v.] | Dio | AG. I, 393.18 | 1 |
| *in Catalinam* | II.6.13 | *cum* ille homo audacissimus conscientia convictus reticuisset patefeci | Ch | IG. II, 226.30 | 1 |
| *in Catalinam* | II.6.14 | in exilum eiciebam quem ingressum iam in bellum videbam [conpositione, clause ends in spondee and amphibrach] | Dio | AG. II, 470.6 | 1 |
| *in Catalinam* | II.9.19 | rerum potiri volunt [gen., acc., abl. order] | Dio | AG. I, 319.25 | 1 |
| *in Catalinam* | III.12.27 | nihil mihi ab istis noceri potest [impersonal verb] | Dio | AG. I, 399.23 | 1 |
| *in Catalinam* | IV.10.21 | nisi forte maius est patefacere vobis provincias quo exire possimus quam curare ut etiam illi qui absint habeant quo victores revertantur [subiunctiva dubia] | Dio | AG. I, 395.7 | 1 |
| *in Catalinam* | IV.10.21 | nisi forte melius est patefacere vobis provincias quo exire possitis, quam curare ut etiam illi qui absunt habeant quo victores revertantur. [subj.v] | Ch | IG. II, 228.32 | 1 |
| *in Catalinam* | IV.7.14 | cum omnibus potius quam soli preire voluerunt [conpositione, clause ends in tetrasyllable] | Dio | AG. II, 470.24 | 1 |
| *in Laelio* | 1.1 | Quintus Mucius augur multa narrare de Gaio Laelio socero suo *memoriter* et iucunde solebat [*memor* ... non habet enim comparationem] | Ch | IG. I, 114.25 | 1 |
| *in Laelio* | 1.1 | Q. Mucius augur multa narrare de C. Laelio socere suo *memoriter* et iucunde solebat. | Ch | IG. II, 205.25 | 1 |
| *in Laelio* | 1.1 | Q. Mucius augur multa narrare *de* C. Laelio socero suo memoriter et iucunde solebat. | Ch | IG. II, 234.24 | 1 |
| *in para.Stoic.* | III.2.26 | exsibilatur *exploditur* | Dio | AG. I, 383.1 | 1 |
| *in Pisonem* | ? | *proximus* Pompeium sedebam | Dio | AG. I, 410.7 | 1 |
| *in Pisonem* | ? | pro dii inmortales, qui hic inluxit dies [conpositione, rhythm, feet, and meter] | Dio | AG. II, 468.10 | 1 |
| *in Pisonem* | ? | ‘*pro* deum atque hominum fidem’ aut ‘*pro* di inmortales, qui hic inluxit dies!’ | Ch | IG. II, 235.8 | 1 |
| *in Pisonem* | 16.38 | *vulturius* illius provinciae | Ch | IG. I, 147.11 | 1 |
| *in Pisonem* | 18.42 | sed dicunt isti ipsi qui mala dolore, bona voluptate definiunt sapientem dicturum, etiamsi in *Falaridis* tauro succensis ignibus torreatur. | Ch | IG. I, 130.7 | 1 |
| *in Verrem* |  | *poemate* poematum poematibus | Ch | IG. I, 53.12 | 1 |
| *in Verrem* | (1) act.pr. 4.11 | cuius, ut adulescentiae maculas ignominiasque praeteram, quaestura, primus gradus honoris, quid habet aliud in sese nisi Cn. Carbonem spoliatum a quaestore suo pecunia publica, nudatum, inquam, a quaestore et proditum consulem, desertum exercitum, relictam provinciam, sortis necessitudinem religionemque violatam? [conpositione, period length, vocab, dignity, power] | Dio | AG. II, 467.25 | 1 |
| *in Verrem* | (2) act.sec. 19.50 | illa vero expugnatio fani antiquissimi [conpositione, rhythm, feet, and meter] | Dio | AG. II, 468.11 | 1 |
| *in Verrem* | II.17.42 | interea *sane* perturbatus et ipse et eius amici et consiliarii moleste ferre coeperunt | Ch | IG. II, 218.8 | 1 |
| *in Verrem* | IV.11.25 | [?] ubi erit imperii nomen [et] dignitas [conpositione, clause ends in trochee and anapest] | Dio | AG. II, 470.9 | 1 |
| *in Verrem* | IV.22.48 | *ostiatim* | Ch | IG.II, 209.4 | 1 |
| *in Verrem* | IV.24.53 | *vicatim* | Ch | IG.II, 209.4 | 1 |
| *in Verrem* | IV.45.99 | Veneris *antistita* Cupra | Ch | IG. I, 100.23 | 1 |
| *in Verrem* | V.17.44 | haec navis onusta praeda Siciliensi, cum et ipsa esset ex praeda [epanalepsis: cum maiore significatu facta repetitio] | Dio | AG. II, 446.7 | 1 |
| *in Verrem* | V.45.118 | aderat ianitor carceris, carnifex praetoris (period with 2 topics) | Dio | AG. II, 466.24 | 1 |
| *Kalendis Ian.*  *de lege agraria* | ? | *vectigalium* | Ch | IG. I, 146.32 | 1 |
| *Kalendis Ian.*  *de lege agraria* | ? | inberba iuventute (*inberbi* non *inberbes*) | Ch | IG. I, 95.20 | 1 |
| *pro Caelio* | 2.5 | videor mihi *iecisse* fundamenta defensionis meae [inf. praeterito] | Dio | AG. I, 389.13 | 1 |
| *pro Cloentio* | 1.1 | animadverti iudices [conpositione, vowel length] | Dio | AG. II, 467.9 | 1 |
| *pro Cloentio* | 1.1 | etsi vereor iudices [conpositione, rhythm, feet, and meter] | Dio | AG. II, 468.9 | 1 |
| *pro Cloentio* | 1.2 | quantum difficultatis et quantum laboris sit habitura [conpositione, clause ends in tetrasyllable] | Dio | AG. II, 470.23 | 1 |
| *pro Cloentio* | 6.15 | vicit pudorem libido, timorem audacia, rationem amentia [zeugma: unius verbi conclusio diversis clausulis coniuncta] | Dio | AG. II, 444.8 | 1 |
| *pro Cloentio* | 71.201 | sed multorum medicamentum *maeorum* | Dio | AG. II, 551.4 | 1 |
| *pro Ligario* | 1.1 | novum crimen G.C. [conpositione, vowel length] | Dio | AG. II, 467.8 | 1 |
| *pro Ligario* | 3.6 | ad ea arma profectus sum quae erant suscepta contra te [conpositione, dignified and graceful] | Dio | AG. II, 471.24 | 1 |
| *pro Ligario* | 3.9 | contra Caesarem est congressus armatus [conpositione, clause ends in spondee and amphibrach | Dio | AG. II, 470.7 | 1 |
| *pro Ligario* | 4.10 | quorum igitur inpunitas, Caesar, tuae clementiae laus est, eorum to ad credulitatem acuit oratio [conpositione, clause ends in foot ‘ionicus maior’] | Dio | AG. II, 471.1 | 1 |
| *pro Ligario* | 4.11 | aut levium Graecorum aut inmanium barbarorum [conpositione, clause ends in 2 tetrasyllables] | Dio | AG. II, 470.27 | 1 |
| *pro Milone* | 1.1 | etsi vereor iudices [conpositione] | Dio | AG. II, 466.15 | 1 |
| *pro Milone* | 1.1 | animadverti iudices [conpositione, rhythm, feet, and meter] | Dio | AG. II, 468.9 | 1 |
| *pro Milone* | 1.1 | et pristinum morem iudicorum reqirunt [conpositione, clause ends in spondee and amphibrach | Dio | AG. II, 470.4 | 1 |
| *pro Milone* | 10.29 | reiecta paenula *desiluit* [verb form] | Dio | AG. I, 374.10 | 1 |
| *pro Milone* | 11.30 | ut omnem semper vim quacumque *ope* possent a corpore, a capite, a vita sua propulsarent | Dio | AG. II, 549.24 | 1 |
| *pro Milone* | 13.35 | quid? si haec, non dico maiora fuerunt in Clodio quam in Milone [subiunctiva] | Dio | AG. I, 393.6 | 1 |
| *pro Milone* | 13.35 | quid? si haec, non dico maiora fuerunt in Clodio quam in Milone [subj.v] | Ch | IG. II, 227.8 | 1 |
| *pro Milone* | 17.46 | servum etiam ut corruperit, Arrius meus amicus dixit [subiunctiva adfirmativa] | Dio | AG. I, 396.23 | 1 |
| *pro Milone* | 19.49 | sit ita factum [subiunctiva adfirmativa] | Dio | AG. I, 396.26 | 1 |
| *pro Milone* | 2.3 | clamoresque maximos prae vestra salute neglexit [conpositione, clause with ends in amphibrach and trisyllable] | Dio | AG. II, 470.17 | 1 |
| *pro Milone* | 21.56 | pransi poti oscitantes [verbal form] | Dio | AG. I, 402.11 | 1 |
| *pro Milone* | 24.64 | ut sustinuit, immo vero ut contempsit [subiunctiva] | Dio | AG. I, 394.2 | 1 |
| *pro Milone* | 24.64 | ut sustinuit, immo [228] vero ut contempsit? [finite and subjunctive verbs] | Ch | IG. II, 227.31 | 1 |
| *pro Milone* | 3.7 | sua manu sororem interfectam esse fateretur [conpositione, clause ends in antispastum and tetrasyllable] | Dio | AG. II, 470.31 | 1 |
| *pro Milone* | 3.9 | gladium nobis ab ipsis porrigi legibus [conpositione, tribrachys quoque dactylum bene praecedit] | Dio | AG. II, 469.33 | 1 |
| *pro Milone* | 5.12 | pro salute bonorum contra amentiam perditorum [conpositione, clause ends in 2 tetrasyllables] | Dio | AG. II, 470.28 | 1 |
| *pro Milone* | 7.18 | quae cruentata antea caede honesti atque innocentis viri silebatur, eadem nunc crebo usurpatur, posteaquam latronis et parracidae sanguine inbuta est [conpositione, dignified and graceful] | Dio | AG. II, 471.16 | 1 |
| *pro Milone* | 8.22 | dederas enim quam contemneres populares insanias ab adulescentia documenta maxima [conpositione, dignified and graceful] | Dio | AG. II, 471.19 | 1 |
| *pro Murena* | ? | “Iur*is* consultus dici debet, non iur*e* consultus” | Ch | IG. I, 82.5 | 1 |
| *pro Quinto* | 4.14 | *repentino* pro *repente* | Ch | IG. II, 217.3 | 1 |
| *pro Rabirio* | ? | (*per* pro *perquam* & *perduellis*) *perduellionem* | Ch | IG.II, 211.20 | 1 |
| *pro Sestio* | 15.34 | *ostiatim* vicatim [vicatim in pro Sest. 15,34] | Ch | IG. II, 209.4 | 1 |
| *pro Sexto Rosocio* | ? | non est quod metua, Glaucua, non te scrutor, siquid forte ferri *habuisti* [vbl. form] | Dio | AG. I, 393.24 | 1 |
| *pro Sexto Rosocio* | 1.1 | credo vos, iudices, mirari | Dio | AG. I, 389.9 | 1 |
| *pro Sexto Rosocio* | 1.1 | credo ego vos, iudices, mirari quid sit quod ego potissimum surrexerim | Dio | AG. I, 393.22 | 1 |
| *pro Sexto Rosocio* | 1.1 | credo ego vos, iudices, mirari quid sit quod, cum tot summi oratores hominesque nobilissimi sedeant, ego potissimum surrexerim. | Dio | AG. I, 395.18 | 1 |
| *pro Sexto Rosocio* | 1.2 | multo plura dixisse putaretur | Ch | IG. II, 206.4 | 1 |
| *pro Sexto Rosocio* | 1.3 | ego omnia quae dicenda sunt libere dixero | Ch | IG. II, 203.30 | 1 |
| *pro Sexto Rosocio* | 1.4 | a me id contenderunt qui apud me et amicitia et beneficiis et dignitate *plurimum* possunt. | Ch | IG. II, 212.4 | 1 |
| *pro Sexto Rosocio* | 18.50 | ne tu, Eruci, accusator esses ridiculus [irony, subjn., like Gk *naí*] | Dio | AG. I, 394.24 | 1 |
| *pro Sexto Rosocio* | 18.50 | ne tu, Eruci, accusator ridiculus esse [adv] | Dio | AG. I, 404.18 | 1 |
| *pro Sexto Rosocio* | 18.50 | *ne* tu, Eruci, accusator ridiculus esse | Ch | IG. II, 189.2 | 1 |
| *pro Sexto Rosocio* | 18.50 | ne tu Eruci accusator esses ridiculus, si illis temporibus natus esses [subj.v] | Ch | IG. II, 228.20 | 1 |
| *pro Sexto Rosocio* | 2.6 | vel potentissimus (=valde potentissimus) | Ch | IG. I, 115.14 | 1 |
| *pro Sexto Rosocio* | 23.64 | cenatus cubitum cum duobus filiis [verbal form] | Dio | AG. I, 402.10 | 1 |
| *pro Sexto Rosocio* | 34.97 | credo ego vos, iudices, mirari quid sit quod ego potissimum surrexerim | Dio | AG. I, 393.23 | 1 |
| *pro Sexto Rosocio* | 45.131 | *pernicies* | Dio | AG. II, 547.26 | 1 |
| *pro Sexto Rosocio* | 45.131 | pernic*i*es causa [gen. with “i”] | Ch | IG. I, 69.10 | 1 |
| *pro Sexto Rosocio* | 8.21 | cum nulla prosciptionis mentio fieret, cum etiam omnes qui antea metuerant reditent ac iam defunctos se periculis arbitrarentur, nomen refertur in tabulas Sexti Roscii. [inf. imperfect subjunctive, rare] | Dio | AG. I, 390.17 | 1 |
| *pro Sexto Rosocio* | 8.21 | cum nulla etiam prosciptionis memoratio fieret, cum etiam qui antea proscripti erant sederent, nomen refertur in tabulas Sexti Roscii. [imp. subj] | Ch | IG. II, 264.5 [6] | 1 |
| *secundo ad fraterm* | II.1.2 | *adsentit* Lentulo [vs. Sallust *adsentior*, -r, not *adsentio* --mistakenly] | Dio | AG. I, 381.26 | 1 |
| *Tusculanarum* | II.14.34 | *Cretum* legis | Ch | IG. I, 124.12 | 1 |
| *Tusculanarum* | II.15.36 | ipse labor quoddam *callum* obducit [*callum* in neuter[ | Ch | IG. I, 72.1 | 1 |
| *Tusculanarum* | II.19.44 | venit Epicurus, homo *minime* malus vel potius vir optimus; tantum monet, quantum intellegit. | Ch | IG. II, 206.19 | 1 |
| *Tusculanarum* | II.20.46 | volo autem dicere illud homini *longe* optimum esse, quod ipsum sit optandum per se a virtute profectum vel in ipsa virtute situm sua sponte laudabile. | Ch | IG. II, 204.10 | 1 |
| *Tusculanarum* | II.20.46 | exclamabis ut mulier nec constanter et *sedate* feres | Ch | IG. II, 220.17 | 1 |
| *Tusculanarum* | II.20.46 | nihil enim habet natura praestantius, nihil quod magis expetat, quam honestatem, quam decus. his ergo pluribus nominibus unam rem declarari volo, sed utar, *ut quam maxime significem*, pluribus. | Ch | IG. II, 223.31 | 1 |
| *Tusculanarum* | II.21.48 | si se lamentis *muliebriter* lacrimisque dedecoret. | Ch | IG. II, 206.17 | 1 |
| *Tusculanarum* | II.21.48 | *pedetemptin* ac sedato nisu | Ch | IG. II, 214.10 | 1 |
| *Tusculanarum* | II.22.53 | providendum est ne quid abiecte, ne quid timide, ne quid *ignave*, ne quid serviliter muliebriterve faciamus. | Ch | IG. II, 203.7 | 1 |
| *Tusculanarum* | II.22.53 | G. Marius, rusticanus vir, cum secaretur, *principio* vetuit se alligari | Ch | IG. II, 215.17 | 1 |
| *Tusculanarum* | II.23.56 | [Virgil, not Cic.] | Ch | IG. II, 215.19 | 1 |
| *Tusculanarum* | II.27.65 | idem morbos *toleranter* atque humane ferunt | Ch | IG. II, 222.8 | 1 |
| *Tusculanarum* | II.5.14 | non ultro adpetendus, sed subeundus et excipiendus dolor est. ita *prorsus* existimo. | Ch | IG.II, 211.24 | 1 |
| *Tusculanarum* | II.5.15 | et *heri* feci | Ch | IG.II, 200.11 | 1 |
| *Tusculanarum* | II.8.20 | sanguinem omnem *sorbui* [second conjugation] | Dio | AG. I, 366.27 | 1 |
| *Tusculanarum* | II.8.20 | iam *decolorem* sanguinem omnem exorbuit | Ch | IG. II, 198.2 | 1 |
| *Tusculanarum* | II.9.22 | possumusne nos contemnere dolorem, cum ipsum Herculem tam *intoleranter* dolere videamus | Ch | IG. II, 222.9 | 1 |
| *Tusculanarum* | III.38.83 | *stirpitus* [Keil notes, “stirpitus philosophia se extracturum pollicetur”] | Ch | IG. II, 219.25 | 1 |

Keil, Volumes 2 and 3.

CICERO BY KEIL VOLUME: **Priscian**

Volume 2. *Prisciani I. Institutionum grammaticarum libri I–XII*.

Volume 3. *Prisciani II.* *Institutionum grammaticarum libri XII–XVIII*.

Pri = Priscian [MS ?]

By book, Keil page and line. (Words of interest in italics.) Index scriptorum, v.3, pp. 531–32

Mss of Priscian in ASE [Lapidge, *ASL*, pp. 326–327]:

*De figuris numerorum* citations: Abbo, Byrhtferth

*Institutio de nomine, pronomine et uerbo* citations: Aldhelm, Alcuin

➙ *Institutiones grammaticae* citations: Aldhelm, Bede, Alcuin, Lantfred, Abbo, Byrhtferth

*Partitiones duodecim uersuum Aeneidos principalium* citations: Bede

*Periegesis* no identified citations

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Work | loc. | quotation | Gramm. | Reference | Keil vol. |
| *Arat.* |  | Hoc cornu, genu [-u, neut.] | Pri, I | I 210.21 | 2 |
| *Arat.* |  | At propter laevum *genus* omni ex parte locatas / Parvas vergilias tenui cum luce videbas | Pri, vi | I 211.2 | 2 |
| *Arat.* |  | Haec genus ad laevum nixi delapsa resedit / Atque inter flexum *genus* et caput alitis haesit. | Pri, vi | I 211.5 | 2 |
| *Arat.* |  | Corpore semifero magno capri*cornus* in orbe | Pri, vi | I 211.11 | 2 |
| *Arat.* |  | Tum magni curvus capri*corni* corpora propter / Delphinus iacet, haut nimio lustratus nitore. | Pri, vi | I 211.13 | 2 |
| *Arat.* |  | Tum magni curvus capricorni corpora propter / *Delphinus* iacet, haut nimio lustratus nitore. | Pri, vi | I 217.20 | 2 |
| *Arat.* |  | Sub pedibus profertur . . finita *Booti*, / Spicum inlustre tenens, splendenti corpore virgo [pro ‘Bootis’] | Pri, vi | I 247.17 | 2 |
| *Arat.* |  | Atque oculos urget pedibus pectusque *nepai* [“pro ‘nepae’, id est ‘scorpii’] | Pri, vii | I 285.3 | 2 |
| *Arat.* |  | Serius haec obitus *terrai* visit equi vis [ai v. ae] | Pri, vii | I 285.5\* |  |
| *Arat.* |  | Navibus absumptis fluitantia quaerere *aplustra* [pl. in –a, not –ia] | Pri, vii | I 351.2 | 2 |
| *Arat.* |  | Stinguens [participle, v. extinxissem] | Pri, x | I 504.15 | 2 |
| *Arat.* |  | Torvus Draco serpit supter *supera*que retorquens Sese. | Pri, xiv | II 30.3 | 2 |
| *Arat.* |  |  | Pri, | II 55.25 | 2 |
| *Arat.* |  |  | Pri, | II 55.27 | 2 |
| *Arat.* |  |  | Pri, |  | 2 |

end.

Keil, volume 4: **Donatus & Servius**

Volume 4. *Probi Donati Servii, De arte grammatica libri*.

Pro = Probius [MS Bobbio by Vindobonensis 16; MS paris 7520; editio princeps Iano Parrhasio (Vicetiae, 1509). *C* = *Catholica*; *IA* = *Instituta artium*

Don= Donatus [Raphael Volaterranus, Rome, 1493.]

Ser = Servius

*CD* = commentarius in artem Donati

*DL* = de littera de syllaba de pedibus de accentibus

*DI* = de idiomatibus

Index scritptorum, pp. 585–95. Viz. Cicero. By book, Keil page and line. (Words of interest in italics.)

Mss in ASE [Lapidge, *ASL*, p. 300–301, p. 332]; Gneuss mss marked with \*;

Donatus, *Ars maior*\* citations: Theodore/Hadrian, Aldhelm, Bede, Alcuin, Abbo, Byrhtferth

Donatus, *Ars minor* no evident citations

Donatus, *Vita Vergilii* citations: Aldhelm

Servius, *Comm. in artem Donati* cites: Bede

Servius, *Comm. in Vergilii Bucolica et Georgica* cite: Aldhelm, Byrhtferth

Servius, *Comm. in Vergilii Aeneidos lib.*\* cite: Aldhelm, Abbo, Byrhtferth

Servius, *De centum metris* cite: Bede

Servius, *De finalibus metrorum* cite: Bede

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Work | loc. | quotation | Gramm. | Reference | Keil vol. |
| *Arat.* | v.27 | hac propter laevum *genu* omnis parte locatus [form: in abl for long syllable] | Pro, *US* | 223.31 | 4 |
| *de natura deuorum* | II.57.143 | *nasus* itaque, qui diductus est, quasi murus oculis interiectus esse videatur [Lucr = nasum] | Pro | 212.12 | 4 |
| *de oratore* | II.69.278 | ficu [m., error in Varro: de ficu se suspendit] | Pro | 214.33 | 4 |
| *div. in Caecilium* | 1.1 | causamque cognovit [form: bacchus a longa and molossus] | Pro | 42.30 | 4 |
| *div. in Caecilium* | 12.37 | ingenio sustinere [form: choriamb and ditrochee] | Pro | 42.33 | 4 |
| *div. in Caecilium* | 13.41 | corpora perhorresco [dactyl and antispastus | Pro | 42.33 | 4 |
| *div. in Caecilium* | 15.48 | iudicum sustinebit [form: paeon primus and ditrochee] | Pro | 43.1 | 4 |
| *div. in Caecilium* | 16.50 | subscriptor addatur [form: bacchus a longa and molossus] | Pro | 43.2 | 4 |
| *div. in Caecilium* | 16.51 | ad meam capsam admisero [form: phonological change of long vowels yields in nostri temporis a barbarism] | Pro | 41.25 | 4 |
| *div. in Caecilium* | 20.64 | iniuriis commoveri [form: diiambus et hippius secundus] | Pro | 43.3 | 4 |
| *div. in Caecilium* | 20.65 | cuius quaestor fueris accusare [form: tribrach and hippius quartus] | Pro | 43.4 | 4 |
| *div. in Caecilium* | 3.9 | maxime laboraret [form: amphibrach and antispastus] | Pro | 42.25 | 4 |
| *div. in Caecilium* | 4.14 | quae cum his civitatibus G. Verri communicata sunt [form: monosyllabic end] | Pro | 41.1 | 4 |
| *div. in Caecilium* | 5.19 | ipsa delegit [form: trochee and molossus] | Pro | 42.31 | 4 |
| *div. in Caecilium* | 6.20 | probare deberent [form: amphibrach and molossus] | Pro | 42.31 | 4 |
| *div. in Caecilium* | 7.23 | sententia sua liber*averant* [form: phonological change of long vowels yields in nostri temporis a barbarism] | Pro | 41.21 | 4 |
| *div. in Caecilium* | 8.26 | id quod populus Romanus iam flagitat, extincta atque deleta sint [form: monosyllabic end] | Pro | 41.1 | 4 |
| *div. in Caecilium* | 9.27 | voluptate concedam [form: antispastus and bacchus a longa] | Pro | 42.32 | 4 |
| *in Arato* |  | iam Tauri laevum *cornu* dexterque simul pes [form: in abl for long syllable] | Pro, *US* | 223.27 | 4 |
| *in Caes.pro Deiot.* | 15.41 | Hie*ras* et Blaesamius et Antiochus [1st decl.] | Pro | 27.18 | 4 |
| *in Catilinam* | I.1.1 | nihilne te nocturnum praesidium | Palatii, nihil urbis vigiliae, nihil timor populi, nihil omnium bonorum concur[**...????**] [distincto, or pause: media distincto in middle of sentence for breathing] | Ser, *DL* | 484.32 | 4 |
| *in Catilinam* | I.4.9 | me in meo lect*o* [abl. of lectus, lecti] | Pro | 29.32 | 4 |
| *in Catilinam* | I.4.9 | o dii inmortales, ubinam gentium sumus [‘o’ introduces distinct part of oration] | Ser, *CD* 2 | 510.10 | 4 |
| *in Catilinam* | I.4.9 | *ubinam* genitum sumus [adv. vs. cnj] | Ser, *CD* 2 | 558.22 | 4 |
| *in Catilinam* | I.8.19 | *ad* Marcum Laecum te habitare [vs. apud] | Ser, *CD* | 442.15 | 4 |
| *in Catilinam* | I.8.19 | *ad* Marcum Laecum te habitare velle dixisti [not a place, but correct] | Ser, *CD* 2 | 517.22 | 4 |
| *in Catilinam* | II.3.5 | ex *agresti* luxuria [agrester, agrestis] | Pro | 124.22 | 4 |
| *in Catilinam* | II.4.7 | quis ganeo quis *nepos* [‘nepos’ and ‘acies’] | Ser, *CD* 2 | 538.14 | 4 |
| *in Catilinam* | IV.3.6 | et obscure *serpens* [serpo, not serpio] | Pro | 141.36 | 4 |
| *in Catilinam* | IV.3.6 | et obscure serpens [serpo, not serpio] | Pro | 186.1 | 4 |
| *in Catilinam* | IV.6.13 | filiumque eius *inpuberem* [3rd decl.] | Pro | 20.5 | 4 |
| *in oratore* | 67.224 | crepidinem [crepido] | Pro | 211.34 | 4 |
| *in Philippicus* | II.30.75 | cum tu *Narbone* mensas hospitium conuomeres [vs. Narboni] | Ser, *CD* | 416.12 | 4 |
| *in Philippicus* | II.30.75 | cum tu | *Narbone* mensas hospitum convomer**es [?]** [3rd decl. abl] | Ser, *CD* 2 | 511.13 | 4 |
| *in Verrem* | act.pr.12.34 | in quo meam voluntatem populus Romanus perspicere posit [form: end with dactyl then spondee or trochee] | Pro | 41.11 | 4 |
| *in Verrem* | act.pr.12.35 | industriaeque meae contenderem [form: phonological change of long vowels yields in nostri temporis a barbarism] | Pro | 41.25 | 4 |
| *in Verrem* | act.pr.3.8 | procellam temporis devitare [form: dactyl and hippius quartus] | Pro | 43.5 | 4 |
| *in Verrem* | act.pr.5.14 | ab istius petulantia conservare non licitum est [form: monosyllabic end] | Pro | 40.32 | 4 |
| *in Verrem* | act.pr.6.15 | diu machinatur [form: iamb and di-trochee] | Pro | 43.5 | 4 |
| *in Verrem* | act.sec. I.1.2 | pudentem exitum puaesisse videatur [form: bacchus a longa et paeon tertius] | Pro | 42.26 | 4 |
| *in Verrem* | act.sec. I.1.3 | si forte *in eo* quaeritis [pro ‘in eum’] | Ser, *CD* | 419.34 | 4 |
| *in Verrem* | act.sec. I.26.67 | aqua denique *ferventi* a Rubrio ipse perfunditur [abl.s.part. in -e/-i] | Ser, *CD* 2 | 513.17 | 4 |
| *in Verrem* | act.sec. I.4.9 | cuius ego causa *laboro* [form: phonological change of long vowels yields in nostri temporis a barbarism] | Pro | 41.21 | 4 |
| *in Verrem* | act.sec. I.45.115 | pro *praede* litis vindiciarum [gen. 3rd decl. Graecism] | Pro | 18.24 | 4 |
| *in Verrem* | act.sec. I.5.14 | securi esse percussum [form: trochee and bacchus a longa] | Pro | 42.27 | 4 |
| *in Verrem* | act.sec. I.6.16 | suus iste vexerat [form: trochee and bacchus a longa] | Pro | 42.28 | 4 |
| *in Verrem* | act.sec. I.7.20 | stare non posse [form: trochee and bacchus a longa] | Pro | 42.28 | 4 |
| *in Verrem* | act.sec. I.8.22 | populus Romanus voluerit vindicare [form: proceleusmaticus an ditrochee] | Pro | 42.29 | 4 |
| *in Verrem* | act.sec. I.8.22 | decem fiscos *ad senatorem* illum relictos [prep w/acc. not ‘to a place’, but ‘to an authority’] | Ser, *CD* | 419.7 | 4 |
| *in Verrem* | III.9.23 | ot odor Aproni *taeterrimus* [taeter, not taetrus] | Pro | 60.7 | 4 |
| *in Verrem* | IV.12.18 | horum poematorum, his poematis, ab his poematis [n.3rd Graecism] | Ser, *CD* | 435.13 | 4 |
| *in Verrem* | IV.17.37 | emblematorum, emblematis [n.3rd Graecism] | Ser, *CD* | 435.13 | 4 |
| *in Verrem* | V.45.117 | includuntur in *carcerem* condemnati [signifies in a place, vs. ‘in carcere’] | Ser, *CD* 2 | 518.10 | 4 |
| *or. pro Cornelio* |  | quare hominem inpugnare non desinunt, nisi remotis *ministratoribus* [vs. minister] | Pro | 212.8 | 4 |
| *pro Cluentio* | 28.76 | scrupulum [Terr = scrupulus] | Pro | 212.24 | 4 |
| *pro Deiotaro* | 11.31 | o dii inmortales Gnaeus Domitius ille [‘o’ introduces distinct part of oration] | Ser, *CD* 2 | 510.11 | 4 |
| *pro Sestio* | 8.19 | tanquam *vade* [vas, 3rd decl.] | Pro | 19.17 | 4 |
| *pro Sexto Roscio* | 2.6 | hunc sibi *scrupulum*, qui se dies ac noctes pungit, ut evellatis postulat [Terr = scrupulus] | Pro | 212.22 | 4 |
| *pro Sexto Roscio* | 7.18 | occisus est ad *balneas* Pallicias [f., vs. Horace *balnea*, n.] | Ser, *CD* | 431.30 | 4 |
| *rheto ad Herenn* | IV.4.7 | peripetasmatorum, peripetasmatis [n.3rd Graecism] | Ser, *CD* | 435.13 | 4 |

end.

1. There is a project underway at the Corpus Grammaticorum Latinorum to record all classical citations in Keil, suggested in 1977 by Nino Marinone of Turin, and now under the direction of Valeria Lomanto and Allesandro Garcea. Available at http://kaali.linguist.jussieu.fr/CGL/. [↑](#footnote-ref--1)
2. “Personifikation der Röm”: J. Soubiran, “Cicero in Mittelalter und Humanismus,” *Lexikon des Mittelalters* (München: Artemis, 1981–83), 10 vols., 2:2063–78, at 2063. For example, Paschasius Radbertus, “ut Tullius refert ipse rex eloquentiae,” in *Expositio in Mathaeo*, ed. B. Paulus, *CCCM* 56, 1.158. [↑](#footnote-ref-0)
3. Manitius, 3:403. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
4. Henri de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis*, trans. Mark Sebanc (1959; Grand Rapids: Eerdman’s, 1998), 2 vols., 1:36. Walafrid Strabo praised the knowledge of literature. Lupus of Ferrières, in a letter to Charlemagne’s biographer Einhard, wrote that “wisdom should be sought for its own sake” (de Lubac, *Exegesis*, 1:36). Alcuin in his *Grammatica* wrote the same thing, and it was etched on his tombstone. Macrobius described four “ways of speaking,” “abundant, brief, dry, and bold,” to which he attached the names Cicero, Sallust, Fronto, and Pliny the Younger (de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis*,1:7). [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
5. Soubiran, “Cicero,” p. 2074: “ut latine scripta in nostram conatus sim vetere, et syllogistice aut figurate aut suasorie dicta per Aristotelem vel Ciceronem vel alium artigraphum elucidare.” [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
6. Shackleton-Bailey, *Cicero*. R. Seider, “Beiträge zur Geschichte und Palaeographie der antiken Cicerohandschriften,” *Bibliothek und Wissenschaft* 13 (1979): 101–149. These works are commonly subdivided into speeches, rhetoric, politics, philosophy, letters, poetry, and translations. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
7. Pro Marcello, Pro Ligario, Pro rege Deiotaro. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
8. Manitius, *Geschichte*, I:481. Boethius also knew and employed Cicero, and as did commentators on his *De differentiis topicis*, such as Victorinus. Boethius also wrote a commentary on Cicero’s *De topica*. Cassiodorus makes use of Cicero in his *Institutes*. See Soubiran, “Cicero.” See also Th. Zielinski, *Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1908): Cicero also shows up in Minucius Felix, Lactantius, Arnobius, Ambrose, and others. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
9. L. D. Reynolds, “Introduction,” *Texts and Transmissions* (Ox, 1983), p. xvi. But the low manuscript count has been explained by Berhard Bischoff as a result of perfectly serviceable late antique manuscripts: there was no need to copy them anew (Bischoff, *Manuscripts and Libraries*). [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
10. ... some relevant passages of which he borrows from Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job*. Similar is the form *poematis*, versus Caesar’s *poematorum*. The grammarian Charisius notes the form, taking it from *De Oratore* 21.70. Varro notes the form as well. Paulinus of Nola uses it (in poem 20, l. 28.) as do Augustine, Jerome, Ausonius, and Prudentius. Caesar’s form appears in only a few later authors, such as Virtuvius, *De architectura* (V, praef.). No Anglo-Saxon appears to use the form. Another example: Cicero uses the form *inlustrantur* in his Cataline oratory I.3.7, as opposed to the equally correct *inlustrentur*. Cicero’s form is used by Augustine, Jerome, Isidore, Bede, Hraban Maur, and by Boniface (Wynferth) in his *Ars grammatica*. The variant form is used by Augustine and Hraban Maur, and in the eighth-century Gelasian Sacramentary (rubric 2755, line 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
11. *Clavis*, no. 1335, p. 442. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
12. “Cicero the great rhetorician.” Peter Godman, *Alcuin: The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1982), pp. 124–25, line 1550. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
13. Godman, p. 125, n. 1550. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
14. Liutpold Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne: Studies in Carolingian History and Literature* (Ithica: Cornell, 1959), p. 37. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
15. Donald A. Bullough, *Alcuin: Achievement & Reputation* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), p. 186. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
16. Bishop of Sens? See Robert A Kaster, *Guardians of Language* (U of California, 1997), p. 382. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
17. [Gn 69.5]—a ninth-century ms with Continental provenance. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
18. The note reads, “Cf. Plinii, *Excerpta* p. 34; Bober, pp. 91-92; *Liber de computo,* cxii (PL CXXIX, 1327); Dicuil, *De astronomia* II, i (ed. Esposito, pp. 398 sqq.); Cicero, *De natura deorum* ii, 20.” [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
19. Peden, p. xxxii. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
20. Peden, p. xiv. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
21. (also I.3) A. M. Peden, *Abbo of Fleury and Ramsey: Commentary on the Calculus of Victorius of Aquitaine* (Oxford UP, 2003), p. 97, n. 121: *In Topicas* I (*PL* 64:1042). [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
22. Record C.B.9.2.264.02. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
23. Bately, p. 84, ll.10–11. Note on p. 271. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
24. Lindsey, ed. *Isidoro*, p. 62. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
25. Bately,pp. 281-82. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
26. Bately, p. 281, n. 95/23-25. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
27. There is one important source as far as I can tell that has been left out of the reckoning. That is Ælfric’s *Grammar*. In his Preface, Ælfric writes that he has compiled his grammar from excerpts of Priscian and Donatus. Priscian cites Cicero a number of times for his exempla. *Ælfrics Grammatik und Glossar*, ed. Julius Zupitza, rev. Helmut Gneuss (Hildesheim: Weidmann, 2003), p.1. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)